1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

a *santo*. *Mole poblano* (or "turkey *mole*" [S. *mole de guajolote*; N. *huexolomolli*]) in Tepoztlán may be made of as many as nineteen ingredients. It is always served with turkey and only on the occasion of very important *fiestas*, characteristically weddings and baptisms.

Another category, *tortas*, includes vegetables, potatoes, etc., which are ground, mixed with egg, fried, and served with *chile*. These represent an application of the aboriginal grinding- and *chile*-patterns to introduced foods.

The cultivated and purchased foods are supplemented with a number of wild vegetable foods and occasionally game.

It will be observed that a very few techniques of cookery are employed. Foods are boiled, fried, or toasted. In spite of the presence of the oven, used by bakers and pastry-makers, domestic food is never roasted or baked.

Three meals a day are generally eaten. *Tortillas* and beans are found at nearly every meal; often there is little or nothing else. Meat is most frequently added.

The commonest beverage is coffee, home grown and toasted. Chocolate, the aboriginal drink, is everywhere known but its use is restricted by its cost. When made, it is beaten to a froth in the ancient manner. Milk is not rarely drunk, but usually sweetened with sugar or flavored with chocolate; it is almost never used as an ingredient in cookery. A variety of "teas" are made of native and also of introduced herbs and seeds. Commercial sugar-cane alcohol is largely drunk by the

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

men. The maguey does not flourish at this low altitude; therefore *pulque* (anciently *octli*) must be imported, and its use is confined largely to festal occasions.

The ancient male costume of the Aztecs, although modified according to the social position of the wearer, was composed of three principal garments: the *maxtlatl*, a belt or loincloth with the ends hanging down in front like an apron; the *tilmahtli*, a woven cape worn over the shoulders and knotted in front; and the *cactli*, sandals of leather or woven of maguey fiber. Of these three the first has entirely disappeared,[1] the second influenced the form and use of the modern *zarape*, while the third remains little changed today. For all articles of men's clothing worn today in Tepoztlán, Nahuatl terms are in use. The ancient term *tilmahtl* is applied to the *zarape*, and the sandals are still called *cactli* or *cuitlax-cactli* ("leather sandals"). The other terms are descriptive compositions, or are Spanish roots modified to suit Nahuatl linguistic patterns.

A man wears one or more shirts (S. *camisa;* N. *cotontli*) and over these, when the weather is colder or for better dress, a blouse (S. *blusa;* N. *panicotontli*). These, like the trousers, are made of cheap white cotton cloth bought in the local stores and are made up by the women. The blouse is buttonless; the lower ends tie together in front. For holiday attire the shirt may be pink or blue, or a colored vest (S. *chaleco*)

[1] It may possibly be worn by some in Tepoztlán, as it still is elsewhere in Mexico (*ibid.*, p. 121).

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

177 terial culture in columns representing the categories
369 suggested.

	General Tepoztecan Culture			Secondary Elements
	Indian Elements	Mixed Elements	Spanish Elements	
			MEN'S CLOTHING	
[291]	Sandals	*Zarape*	Undergarments; shirt; trousers; vest; blouse; straw hat	Dark trousers; shoes; felt hat
			WOMEN'S CLOTHING	
	(*Quechquemitl; pitzcueitl*)		The *rebozo* and almost all other clothing	Shoes
			THE HOUSE	
[342]	General form and materials: *Temazcal*, granaries; turkeys	Water-tank	Tiled roofs; hinged doors; chickens, pigs	Balconies; brick floor; iron grilles
			HOUSE FURNISHINGS	
[354]	*Petate; otate* bed; *tlequil; olla; metate; comal; molcajete; chiquihuite; tompiate*	*Cazuelas; jarros; bateas;* benches; stools	Table; candles; oilcans; water-carrier; *machete;* sewing machine	Brass bed; phonograph; oil lamp; forks Backed chairs; Brazier
			FOODS AND STIMULANTS	
[262] [276] [273]	*Tortillas; moles; tamales; atoles:* beans; maize; *chile;* squash; tomatoes, *pulque*	*Tortas;* tobacco	Bananas and citrus fruits; sugar; spices; rice; lima beans; beef and pork; chickens and eggs; coffee; *aguardiente*	Canned foods; beer

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

until next year. A bottle of *aguardiente* is passed around by the *mayordomo*, another fire is built, and the *chirimía* plays there all night. 796* [533] [273]

On the morning of the first of January a new municipal government is elected and installed. But this is accomplished in semi-secrecy by a political clique controlled from Cuernavaca.[1] A group of men crossing the *plaza* after an election, formal only, a number of rockets discharged in honor of the new *presidente*—it all passes almost unnoticed by most of the people who go about their affairs thinking of the *castillo* that evening. 666 [648] [541]

January 2 and 3.—These two days are the occasion of the *cerahpa* and the *castiyohpa* for the *fiesta* just passed. On one of these two days the people must come to pay their pledges for the candles or for the *castillo*, which are paid for by popular subscription. The subscriptions are perennial, made each year in the same amount on the same day with the same ritual, and constitute a promise to the *santo*. For this *fiesta*, which is a *fiesta* of the entire town, people come to pay from all the *barrios*, and even from the little villages around Tepoztlán. 794 796* [628]

Today there are two *chirimías* playing simultaneously in the houses of the two *mayordomos* in Santa Cruz. The sound of these *chirimías*, and the occasional discharge of rockets and of mortars of gunpowder, serve to remind of their obligation those who have pledged payment. The people come to make this pay- [533]

[1] The year of this study.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

ramada in preparation for the *fiesta* of that *barrio*. The atrium and the floor of the church are swept, and the altars decorated with flowers and tissue-paper garlands. The figures of the Three Kings, usually a triplet of *santos* at the altar, are placed so that candles may be burned separately to each. A tissue-paper lantern, in the form of a clock, is hung above the door of the chapel.

January 5.—This is the day before the *fiesta* of Los Reyes. At night the chapel is open and women of the *barrio* come to pray. The men of the *barrio* march to the chapel with the rockets to be set off for the *fiesta*, and then go to the house of the *mayordomo* to enjoy the usual bottle of alcohol. At about ten o'clock *Los Pastores*, the boys who come with staffs of bells to sing traditional songs on Christmas Eve, dance to the chapel of Los Reyes and there dance and sing before the Magi. The women of the *barrio* are up most of the night grinding corn and squash seeds for the *tamales* to be eaten the next day. The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the chapel.

January 6.—On the day of the *fiesta* the *barrio* of Los Reyes entertains friends from other *barrios* and other villages. Everyone puts on his best clothes. In the morning women come to the chapel to burn candles before the *santos* and to pray. After nightfall a small *castillo*, in the form of a bull, is burned in the atrium of the chapel. The *mayordomos* for next year's *fiesta* are chosen at a meeting just outside the chapel.

January 7.—The *chirimía*, now playing at the

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

incense; behind follow musicians. As they come to the church rockets are discharged.

Then a group of men go to the house of the *mayordomo* of the *castillo* to fetch the *castillo*. This is the occasion for a social half-hour with a bottle furnished by the *mayordomo*. The sections of the *castillo* are brought to the church, also to the sound of rockets, and bound to the pole. The raising of the pole requires a great deal of heaving and shouting; everyone comes to watch, and the event furnishes a climax to the morning. The dancers march off to eat *mole verde* and *tamales* in the houses of the *mayordomos*, and people disperse to share the festal dinner with friends or to buy food from vendors.

At about three o'clock the *castillo* is set off. After dark a *castillo de la noche* is burned. This is the last event, and most people go home.

January 19.—This is the day before the *fiesta* of the *barrio* of San Sebastian. The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the chapel.

Although there are only sixteen houses in the *barrio*, the *fiesta* is an important one, and therefore the "*fiesta* of the *mole*" is commonly postponed until the following Sunday. Including the *cerahpa* and the *castiyohpa*, the *fiesta* may thus last more than a week.

January 20.—This is the day of the *fiesta*. The *chirimía* continues to play. The chapel is open and candles burn before the *santo*.

Saturday, January 23 (about).—In the evening a *castillo de la noche* is burned. A load of *pulque* for the

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

* 796 the afternoon) she brings the clothes. Candles are lit
[782] before the *crèche* and burning copal is set before it.
• [293] The godfather brings rockets, and often a bottle of wine. The rockets are discharged outside the house while the godmother dresses the image. Everyone is given a drink of wine. The image is placed on a tray
[527] and passed around for everyone to kiss. Then follows
[264] the dinner traditional for birthdays and *sacamisas:* rice, *mole poblano*, and beans.

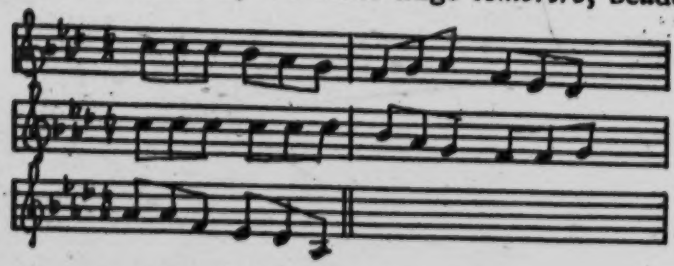
527 *February 5.*—Today is the anniversary of the signing of the constitution. But this is a national patriotic *fiesta* and of little importance in Tepoztlán. The schoolmaster discharges his obligation toward the school children by parading them with flags and perhaps making to them a patriotic speech. There may be music by some orchestra from the valley in the kiosk in the *plaza*. But most people in Tepoztlán have no notion of what day it is, and observe it not at all.

132 The dry season is now well advanced. The foliage has lost much of its brilliance, and the silk-cotton trees have shed all their leaves. The paths and streets are thick with dust now, and the pigs gather around the public washing stones where puddles of water may still be found. Occasionally great winds enter the valley and rage around the high-walled basin, clouding the contours of the hills and pulling tiles from off roofs. Then people stay in their houses and shut the doors to protect themselves from the dust.

241 There is nothing to be done in the *milpas*. The
439 coffee is all picked and dried. There are some who

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

The *Chinelos*[1] leap down to the *plaza*. They leap around and around the *plaza*, occasionally emitting loud whoops. They wear long gowns of satin, blue or pink or yellow, with a square cape hanging from the shoulder. The color and the design of the embroidery vary, but each dancer wears the same long gown with a cape, the same staring mask with recurved black beard of horsehair, the same huge *sombrero*, beaded



and surmounted with an ostrich plume. Each wears gloves and carries a handkerchief filled with confetti.

Hour after hour the leaping continues. The bands take turns playing. At intervals dance music is played and the *Chinelos* dance together in couples. Hundreds of people sit or stand on the edges of the *plaza*, watching the spectacle. When dark comes, the gasoline lamps are lit and each vendor of cakes and drinks along the *plaza* lights a candle. The *Chinelos*, in many cases fortified with alcohol, continue to leap around and around the *plaza*. Men too poor to belong to *com-*

[1] This word is probably from *Chino*, "Chinese", "foreign." When used in speaking Nahuatl it is Mexicanized as *Zinelohque*. The word *Huehuenches* is also used—from the Nahuatl *Huehuetzitzin*, "the old ones" (said with respect). It is said by some in Tepoztlán that the *Chinelos* represent the Pharisees "who denied Christ."

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the atrium and play quite different music—a single minor strain, over and over. 796* [533]

Holy Saturday, Sabado de Gloria.—When the priest is here, he blesses the water and the fire and then holds mass. Three candles are lighted on the water tank in the churchyard; he blesses the water while flowers are thrown into it. A new fire is kindled with flint and steel. People come with coals to kindle and carry home to light incense with. During mass Christ rises; the curtains are pulled down from the altars and the bells ring, not only in the Templo Mayor but also in the chapels. Rockets are discharged. Some eat meat that afternoon; others wait until Sunday. [372] [782] [541] [262]

Easter Sunday, Domingo de Pascua.—Everyone eats meat *tamales* on this day. In the afternoon the *Chinelos* leap once more, and there is *brincando al gusto* (i.e., anyone who wishes joins the leaping). The men drink alcohol again, and many get drunk. [535] [273]

April 28.—This is the day before the *fiesta* of the *barrio* of San Pedro. The *chirimía* plays on the roof of that chapel. 796* 533

April 29.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of San Pedro. Besides the *chirimía*, the *teponaztli* (pre-Columbian wooden drum), owned by this *barrio*, is played on the roof of the chapel.[1] This is a fairly important *fiesta*. There are generally two religious dances: *Los Moros*, from the village of Santo Domingo, and *Los Danzantes*. *Los Danzantes* appear only at this *fiesta*. The little boys who dance it are drawn from all *barrios*, for 796* 535

[1] On the authority of only one informant.

l:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

796 Those who have dead to commemorate carry candles. 769 These are lit on the graves. Prayers and responses are 782 said there, and the party remains until eight in the evening. For the responses the priest is given money by all who celebrate their dead.

243 In December the rains have stopped and the air is [132] very clear. The corn is ripe now, and the harvest begins. The roads are dusty from the feet of men, *burros*, and horses, going to the fields with empty sacks or returning to the village with loads of maize. In the fields groups of men move along the rows, removing the ears from the stalks. A broad needle of wood or iron is suspended from each wrist and used to slit the husks away from the ears. The husks and stalks are left as they were; later groups of women will collect the husks (*totomochtli*) and bind them into bundles to be used to wrap *tamales*. Still later the stalks will be [231] cut down with the *machete* for fodder.

243 The men always work in groups; the owner of the 476 field has asked them to help him—it is *cuatequitl*[1]—and then when their fields are ripe he will help them harvest. These are social occasions. Each group of [273] men has *la mulita*, "the little mule"—a bottle of alcohol hidden under a pile of corn. The preparation of their dinner is also done co-operatively at the house of the owner of the field, and this is a social occasion for the women. They carry the dinner to the fields for the men. The owner of the field supplies the food and drink. But here the co-operative harvesting ends, for

[1] See p. 146.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

When a child dies, the bell is tolled in the chapel of the *barrio* in which it lived. The body is laid out on a table [or bed] and is covered with flowers. Candles burn at the head. A crown of paper flowers is often placed on the head, and a bunch of such flowers in the clasped hands. Food—often merely bread and milk—is placed near the head. The bereaved parents invite their friends to come share their sorrow. Musicians are hired and play all night following the death, while the intimate circle sit close beside the body conversing. The music is gay—the music of march or song. The women remain in or near the house. Outside, with the musicians, remain the less favored men. These drink a great deal; many are quite drunk by morning. There is much laughing, shouting, and quarreling.

Burial usually takes place the next day, most often at about three in the afternoon. All burials take place in the cemetery, which is about a mile east of Tepoztlán. Before the funeral procession starts, the body is clothed in a white-satin shroud. On the bare feet are tied paper sandals, often gilded. A small painted gourd, to symbolize the water-carrier, may be placed with the body. The body is placed in the coffin, but the lid is not put on. The coffin is painted red and gold. The litter is decorated with bright-colored flowers, and these are strewn before the procession as it enters the churchyard. The party consists of the friends and relatives, and the musicians, who continue to play cheerful airs. The mother carries a candle, to be lighted at the grave. When the priest is there, prayers are read in the church. If he is away, the procession passes through the churchyard, up to the door of the church and away, before going to the cemetery. At the grave, if there is no priest, no ritualistic acts are performed. The bodies are placed in crypts; as they crumble away, room is made for others. Refreshments may be taken at the cemetery before the people turn back.

When an adult dies, no flowers are used. The body is clad in black and white. Black paper is used to decorate the bier; the candles burned are black. The coffin is black, and the lid is nailed on before the procession starts. The music played is a dirge. Sometimes the bell in the chapel strikes the hours with

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

476 653 [624 468] The municipal government, it has already been suggested, is more formal than actual; and there are few special functionaries in charge of public repairs and improvements. The *ayuntamiento* employs men to care for the building in which the government has its offices, and to sweep and water the central *plaza*. But other repairs and maintenance operations are performed by individuals or groups of neighbors particularly concerned. If a water tank is dirty, it remains so until someone who draws water there is moved to spend the time and labor necessary to clean it. Tasks requiring many men and involving several techniques and kinds of materials are done by men living in the [621] *barrio* where the repair must be made. If the proposed work is considerable, the consent of the *ayuntamiento* must first be obtained. This is, however, almost entirely formal. The local government does not pay for the work out of local funds or employ workmen. For example, when in 1927 a new set of stone troughs for washing clothes was put up where the *barrio* of La Santísima meets that of Santa Cruz, one of the *ayudantes* living in Santa Cruz asked consent of the *presidente*. A few of the elder men of the two *barrios* organized a party to make the repairs. One contributed the lime; another hauled the sand; others labored for a day or more. The *ayuntamiento* con- [273] tributed nothing but the *aguardiente*.

[651 192 491] Such co-operative labor is stereotyped, and bears the special name *cuatequitl*. This word is from the ordinary word for work (*tequitl*) and a root meaning

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

753 there are first simple symptoms, such as headache
757 (*tzonteconcualiztli*), earache (*nacaxcocoliztli*), toothache (*tlancochcocoliztli*), cough (*tlatlaziztli*), and intestinal disorders generally. These, and the common ex-
[752] ternal disorders, such as tumors, blisters, wounds, burns, insect bites, and fractures, are recognized as coming from a variety of natural causes. Their treat-
757 ment is specific, usually herbal, and does not involve much ritualistic medicine. For each such ailment there are often many separately recognized treatments, all more or less alike in nature. The notes accumulated on treatment of fever will illustrate.

Alta reina or *tzotzonixtlalli* [*Piqueria trinervia* Cav.] leaves are applied to the soles of the feet.

The leaves of *alta reina* are boiled with those of yerba de San José [N. *sanhuanaxictzi; Verbena polystachya* H.B.K.], *malvas* [*Malva parviflora* L.], and the petals of *rosas de Castilla* [*Rosa* sp?], and the resulting infusion is taken internally.

Leaves of borage [*boraja; Borago officianalis* L.] are steeped in water and drunk cold.

The entire plant of *tlatlancuaye* [no Spanish name; *Iresene interrupte* Benth.] is ground and steeped with other herbs and placed on the lungs as a poultice. The other ingredients are *rosas*
[273] *de Castilla*, coriander, and a little wine.

The leaves of *espinoncillo* [*Loeselia mexicana* (Larn.) Brand.] are boiled and the infusion taken as a purge.

Leaves of *digerillo* [N. *axaxaxoxihuitl;* the castor-oil bush] are boiled and the infusion drunk.

By far the largest part of medical treatment, especially in the case of these simpler ailments, is herbal. The ancient Mexicans[1] had a wide knowledge of herb-

[1] Francisco Hernandez, *Cuatro libros de la naturaleza.* Also A. Gerste, S.J., *La médecine et la botanique des anciennes Mexicaines.*

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

century, persisted in Tepoztlán almost until the Revolution. A reference to cotton growing in Tepoztlán is found as late as 1890 in one of the best early geographies of the state of Morelos.[6] Furthermore, some of my older informants remember having seen cotton plants grown in the late eighties and were able to give detailed descriptions of the plants and the way in which they were used.[7] Weaving went out at about the time cotton did.[8]

Another pre-Hispanic industry which has now practically disappeared is that of pulque making. According to old legends, pulque was invented in or near Tepoztlán, and Tepoztecans were famous for their celebrations and debauchery. In the ancient Codex Magliabecchiano manuscript at Florence there is a reference to Tepoztlán, as follows:

> They celebrated another feast called Pilauana, which means intoxication in children, because during the said feast the boys would dance with the girls and they would mutually give each other drink until they became intoxicated . . . these Indians being already nine to ten years old.[9]

Referring to the figure of Tepoztecatl or Ometochtli it says:

> This is the figure of a great debauch that a village which calls itself Tepuztlán had as a rite, and when an Indian died from intoxication, the others in the village had a great dance bearing hatchets, made of copper in their hands. This village is near Yautepec, a dependence of the Marquesado del Valle.[10]

The importance of the maguey plant in pre-Hispanic Tepoztlán can further be judged by Hernández' description of its uses.

> It furnished the people with fire and fence wood, with gutters, tiles and thatching material, paper, and fibres from which shoes and cloth are made. They gather nails and needles from it, as well as fruits, wine, honey, sugar and vinegar.[11]

Other references to the Tepoztecan economy during the sixteenth century deal primarily with taxation and the operation of the *repartimiento* system. As one of the four villas of the Marquesado del Valle, Tepoztlán was an important source of labor supply for the neighboring haciendas. There are frequent references to Tepoztecan men being called upon to labor in the haciendas. During the latter part of the sixteenth century, Tepoztecans were assessed at the rate of four per

---

[6] Alfonso Luis Velasco, *Geografía y Estadística*, Bk. VIII.

[7] Cotton (*itchtal* in Náhuatl) was planted on the edges of the cornfields so that it would not cut down corn production. The cotton seeds were toasted and eaten. Only the poorest families planted cotton and wove it into cloth. The cotton plant was opened and the cotton picked and then beaten to make it fluffy in preparation for spinning. Cotton cloth in Tepoztlán was called *tlamapli*. Náhuatl terms used to describe the various processes are as follows:

itchauitepitl—to beat the cotton with sticks.
tlapechina—to loosen the cotton before spinning.
mazana—to spin thread.

[8] Redfield reported two looms in Tepoztlán in 1926-27.

[9] Miguel Salinas, "La Sierra de Tepoztlán," *Memorias y Revista de la Sociedad Científica*, Vol. XXXVIII, Nos. 9 and 10 (July, 1920).

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] This is an abstract of Hernández given by J. J. Valentine, in his article on "Mexican Paper," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, N.S., I (1880-81), 69.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

participation, there is strong social pressure as well as fear that the saint may be offended by failure to work for his upkeep. Still, in recent years there has been increasing difficulty in obtaining barrio cooperation. Now three of the seven barrios rent out the land and use the rental for the expenses of the chapel.

The barrio *cuatequitl* cleans the churchyard and repairs the chapel. Barrio differences in this connection are interesting. Although the smaller barrios of San Pedro, San Sebastián, and Los Reyes are the most reliable workers on the village *cuatequitl*, they appear to be the most neglectful in the upkeep of their respective chapels, indicating perhaps that Catholicism has less of a hold in these barrios. Indeed, it was in the barrio of San Sebastián that a Protestant sect won over about fifteen families. The barrio of Santa Cruz, also very poor, is known for its superior care and great devotion to its chapel. The larger barrios, too, keep their chapels in repair.

The third occasion for the *cuatequitl* is that of a group of neighbors within the barrio who may agree among themselves to repair the street or to build a water tank or some other local improvement. This *cuatequitl* generally involves fewer people and still occurs quite frequently. During our visit to the village four new water founts were built in this way. The *cuatequitl* of the barrio and of neighbors would seem to be a natural mechanism for a great deal of cooperative endeavor on a purely voluntary basis. But the poor quality of human relations in the village, and the fear to take the initiative in any venture, keep cooperative undertakings at a minimum. Yet the fact that there exists a tradition of cooperative forms of labor has occasionally led to truly heroic and dramatic undertakings. The most recent example of this was the construction of the road to Cuernavaca.

One of the features that characterize all occasions of collective labor is the free use of drink. It would seem that Tepoztecans need the stimulus of drink to enable them to work together successfully. The implications of this for the analysis of the Tepoztecan character will be discussed later.

WAGE LABOR

Although wage labor is an old practice in Tepoztlán, labor is not viewed impersonally as a commodity that can be bought and sold on the market. The relationship between employer and employee is a very personal one; and as a rule, a man will not work for someone he does not like. Tepoztecans are almost as particular about choosing the men they work with as they are in choosing drinking companions. This attitude of independence has become much more marked since the Revolution, for Tepoztecans now have alternatives not available then. The democratic ideology of the Mexican Revolution has influenced Tepoztecans, who are jealous of their new freedom. The harsh treatment received by Tepoztecan laborers on the haciendas and sometimes even in the village before the Revolution would be unbearable today.

It is the custom for the employer to seek out laborers, rather than vice versa. In fact, most Tepoztecans consider it humiliating to ask for a job, and ordinarily a man

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

264 men carry their breakfast with them, to be warmed and eaten later. (See Fig. 40.) They may eat once again at noon and have their dinner when they arrive home, at any time from 5:00 to 9:00 P.M.

562 855 When they eat at home they are usually served first and receive preferential treatment. The women and children who remain at home eat breakfast at 7:00 or 8:00 A.M., dinner at about 1:00 P.M., and supper at dusk. Younger children are generally fed before the mother and the older daughter sit down to eat. In most homes the

291 516

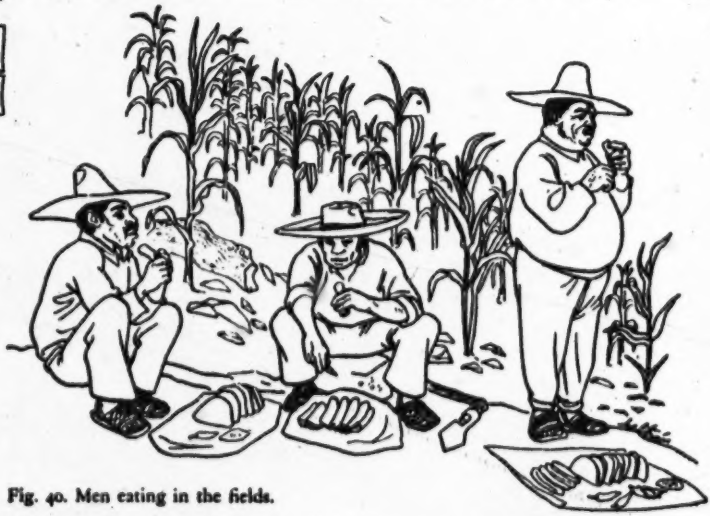


Fig. 40. Men eating in the fields.

351 562 members of the family sit on low chairs or stools, or the women and children sit on the floor. Very few families use a table except during a fiesta meal, and then it is only for the men and guests. Likewise, knives and forks are generally reserved for fiesta times only. The mother serves, handing each person his food in a bowl or wrapped in a tortilla. Spoons may be used, but food is usually eaten with the tortilla as a spoon.

272 264 735 178 757 For most people, breakfast consists of black coffee and tortilla. Some take milk in their coffee and eat bread instead of tortilla; some eat toasted meat or warmed-over beans. During hard times, poorer families drink tea made from cinnamon or local herbs instead of coffee. It should be remembered that coffee drinking is a relatively new phenomenon among the poor; in the late nineteenth century only the *caciques* could afford it. Today, tea drinking is associated with poverty or illness, for many of the teas are used to cure stomach-ache, colds, sore throats, etc.[8]

273 751

[8] In many families it is customary for the father to begin the day with a drink of alcohol. Similarly, when the peasants return from the fields at night, they generally take a drink of alcohol to counteract *los aires* and to avoid taking cold.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

two tables and the other with three. Gambling has not developed to any marked degree, and consists of small occasional bets. Despite the pessimistic evaluations of the older people there is no evidence that the presence of the poolrooms has encouraged vice or has helped to develop any new bad habits. Rather it seems to have provided a harmless and much needed diversion for the young men.

Shortly after the road was built, a man from Mexico City attempted to establish a cabaret in Tepoztlán providing "hostesses," dancing, and drinking. The boys and young men responded with vigor, using such desperate methods as stealing from their parents or selling chickens to raise the necessary money. The adults were aroused and drove out the owner and his staff and have managed to prevent any such new establishments. At the present time there are two *cantinas* for drinking purposes only. Before 1926 the men of the village drank punch, pure alcohol, and *mezcal*. Since the road there has been an increase in beer and *tequila* drinking, and the "Cuba Libre" has been introduced.

Tepoztecans have always been strong drinkers, but there are fewer habitual drunkards here than in some of the surrounding villages. From 1935 to 1938 there was more drinking than there is today because alcohol was much cheaper. Within the last few years, alcohol has risen in price from 40 centavos to 5 pesos per liter. The prohibitive cost of alcohol has been responsible, in part, for the return to the use of pulque. In 1942 a *pulquería* was opened in the plaza. "Soft" drinks such as Coca-Cola, lemonade, and other carbonated drinks are also sold in the village.

In 1939, moving pictures were shown for the first time. Movie equipment was installed in the school and there were nightly performances. After one month the entrepreneur moved out because of the small attendance. Since then, there have been two or three other unsuccessful attempts. To most Tepoztecans the admission charge of 30 to 50 centavos is prohibitive.

From time to time a puppet show reaches Tepoztlán and runs for about a week. This, together with several school plays each year, comprises the theatrical entertainment. In 1943, there were no radios in Tepoztlán; their costliness and the absence of electricity ruled them out.[18] However, there are 44 victrolas in the village. Thirty of these belong to families in the three larger barrios and the others are distributed in each of the smaller ones.

In the past two years the church has endeavored to take a more active part in providing leisure-time activities for Tepoztecans. The Acción Católica has been greatly strengthened and its membership extended. Different age groups within it have separate meetings and elect officers. The activities include singing, presenting religious pageants and plays, attending funerals, celebrating saints' days, and receiving instruction in various subjects, both religious and secular. It also provides religious reading matter and organizes religious pilgrimages. Money-raising activities continue throughout the year through collections, *kermeses*, and even public dances, although the Acción has forbidden its female members to dance. Once or

[18] In 1948, several families owned battery-operated radios and some people were regular listeners to dramatic and humorous programs originating in Mexico City.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

It is to be noted that the birthday of the father was not celebrated in either family, despite the fact that it is traditionally the most important birthday. It is quite common for men past youth to forego birthday celebrations as an economy measure.

Expenditure for alcohol is an almost inevitable item in every Tepoztecan household. It was impossible to estimate this item in Family I since the family was reticent to discuss it. The father has, in recent years, begun to drink heavily, and during periods of drunkenness, has wasted considerable family funds. A conservative estimate of his expenditures on alcohol would be at least four times that of Family II. It is interesting to note that the daughter in Family I also likes to drink wine and beer with her more sophisticated friends. This is a custom she learned while in Mexico City; in Tepoztlán she and her friends indulge only in great secrecy

In Family II only the father drinks. When he has money he drinks about 10 centavos worth of alcohol each morning.

BASIC HOUSEHOLD NECESSITIES

The articles included and the cost of each for both families are as follows:

	Family I (Pesos)	*Family II* (Pesos)
Soap	62.40	26.00
Charcoal	57.00	—
Wood	18.00	34.60
Kerosene	18.72	10.92
Cigarettes	43.68	7.80
Candles	43.68	18.72
Matches	7.80	2.60
Laundress	52.00	—
Total	303.28	120.64

The better-to-do family uses more soap, bathes and changes clothes more often, uses labor-saving charcoal, and has better lighting in the home. The father and son each smoke about three times more cigarettes than the father of the poor family, and the mother of the first family has the aid of a hired woman for the laundry. However, expenditures for household necessities for Family I is 5 per cent of the total, whereas for Family II it is 12 per cent.

HOUSE UPKEEP, REPAIR, AND TAX

This item provides a sharp contrast between the two families. The better-to-do family spent 1,165 pesos, or 19 per cent of its total expenditures, on improving its house; the poor family spent nothing but the 2 pesos for house tax. Family I regularly paints, whitewashes, and repairs its house; Family II has not done anything to improve its house in the past five years. The former has continually added rooms and out-buildings to the original house; the latter has lived in the same one-room house since marriage. It is one of the hopes of this family to add a room or porch, so that the older children may sleep separately from the parents and young children.

It is interesting to note that the tax for the improved house is little higher than

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

771 learn to attend Mass, to confess, and to take communion more often than is customary in the village.

788 Prayers for various occasions are memorized by Tepoztecans. The older generation learn them in Náhuatl, the younger in Spanish. The people do not know how [782] to improvise prayers, and when their memory fails they prefer to keep silent, or merely cross themselves, or kiss a scapulary to invoke the protection of the appropriate saint. The obligatory morning prayers are seldom said with regularity. Some of the old people still say a prayer at noon when the bell of the municipal clock strikes; the men remove their hats and give thanks to God because they still have strength to work. When the evening church bell rings, the men are again supposed to take off their hats and the women to kneel to give thanks because the day has passed without mishap. We cannot estimate the number of people who fulfill the latter obligation, but in all the time we were in the village we never observed anyone kneeling in prayer outside the church. But men returning home from the fields lift their hats respectfully whenever they pass a cross, and on the bus from Tepoztlán to Cuernavaca all hats go up in unison each time a church is passed. [782] Some Tepoztecans recite prayers on special occasions, such as planting corn, lighting a charcoal furnace, or pruning a tree.

794 As indicated earlier, most Tepoztecans do not feel strongly the need to attend 796 Mass every Sunday or even on holy days. On the basis of our own observations and informants' estimates, it appears that, on the average, about two hundred, mostly women, attend church on Sundays. The 6:00 A.M. Mass is preferred; those who attend the 8:00 A.M. Mass risk being called lazy. Mass, like other public gath- [883] erings, is a welcome form of diversion. It is one of the opportunities for sweethearts to see one another; young people are said to attend not out of devotion but to flirt. [292] Everyone puts on his best clothes for Mass. The older men wear huaraches, white *calzones*, and shirts; the youths wear trousers and modern shirts, and many wear jackets. The women use *rebozos* to cover their heads. Upon entering the church, [788] the women cross themselves with holy water and take seats up toward the front. The men generally do not cross themselves and remain in the rear. Some of the youths stand at one side of the nave, leaning against the pillars so as to be able to see the girls during the service. The children sit with their mothers and sisters. Five- and ten-centavo pieces are dropped into the plate passed by the sacristan.

After Mass the young men are the first to leave. They remain at the church door, talking, joking, and laughing quietly among themselves, until the girls appear. The older men are the next to leave the church, and then the women. Most of the men [273] go off to drink, while the women go home in little groups of relatives.

527 Tepoztecans do not rigorously observe Sunday or other holy days as days of 796 rest. During planting and harvesting, everyone works in the fields, and the storekeepers in the center who profit by the week-end tourist trade always work on Sundays and holidays. Informants say, "It is no sin to work on Sunday when it is done out of necessity." Some of the very old people believe that he who works on Sunday ruins himself economically for the rest of the week.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

673 783 685 religious images of a temporarily abandoned house; "that is not a sin, that was abandoned, and it would be worse if it were lost." When someone's pig is run down by an automobile on the highway, the neighbors quickly come with knives and cut away the best portions of meat; this is no sin "since it is the custom of the people." But if one steals the growing corn, or corn after the harvest, or money —"that is really a great sin." Who does the stealing and from whom he steals also determine the degree of the sin. When cattle are stolen from a fellow villager it is a serious matter, cattle stolen by an outsider even more so, but cattle stolen by a Tepoztecan from a non-Tepoztecan is an act of minor importance. Thus, a young man whose father had died, and whose mother had lost most of their property to lawyers, supported himself by stealing cattle in places distant from Tepoztlán. He would go away for several weeks and return with cattle which he sold in the village or used in the fields. He is generally respected and considered *honrado*, although his actions are well known. "Since the poor fellow lost his inheritance, he sometimes goes out of Tepoztlán to struggle with the cattle of others."

While we were in the village, a highly respected person, prominent in state politics, was accused of having stolen a Zebu bull from a national experimental farm. The townspeople were impressed by his astuteness and did not take the attitude that he had done anything sinful or reprehensible.

673 783 [682] In regard to killing, Tepoztecans also distinguish between excusable and inexcusable murders. If "one is like an assassin who kills in cold blood and for mere pleasure," it is a sin. But if one kills for some purpose, it is another matter. To kill a mortal enemy without warning is not a sin since the killer "only got ahead of the dead man" and took advantage of his carelessness. The shooting of a thief or suspected thief on sight is another type of justified killing.

[683] Sorcery and witchcraft of any kind are great sins. Those who practice these "devil's arts" are certain to be punished after death, but they are left unmolested while they live and may be consulted by fellow villagers for cures or for advice in bewitching others.

[684] 562 Adultery is considered a sin only for women, but here again certain cases are excused. For example, "When a man demands good food at home and doesn't give the money to buy it, then he is forcing his wife to look for other men," and since he is the cause of the adultery or if he permits it, it is not a serious matter.

[683] 562 Calumny, criticism, and gossip are special sins of women, but drunkenness on the part of men is not considered a sin.

[273] 754 [825] Other beliefs held by Tepoztecans which are of interest are those of *Naguales*, *los aires*, omens, healers, witches, and sorcerers.

The *Nagual* is a person who has the power to change into an animal, such as a dog or pig. This ancient belief is widely known in Tepoztlán but is considered to be dying out. Informants alluded to *Naguales* as beings of the past, as no longer existing, or, at least, no longer wishing to show themselves. To become a *Nagual*, one must make a pact with the devil and learn certain prayers which allow a man to turn into an animal. Other prayers take away the powers of a *Nagual* and make

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

12 *the quality of inter-personal relations:*

TEPOZTECANS are not an easy people to get to know; they are not an outgoing or expressive people. Most inter-personal relations are characterized by reserve, constriction, and carefully guarded behavior. Spontaneous or informal behavior is limited to the most intimate relationships and rarely occurs in public. Tepoztecans do not like to attract attention by word or deed, and self-control is learned early. In the presence of adults, children are expected to be unobtrusive.[1] In large public gatherings of adults and children, there is a minimum of noise. A family whose quarrels or boisterousness can be heard by passers-by soon earns a poor reputation.

In the street, most faces are somber and quiet; smiles, brief and appropriate; hearty laughter, rare. Women and girls are expected to walk with eyes downcast and those who smile freely may be suspected of being flippant and flirtatious. Adolescent girls, in particular, must have good facial control, for even a glance of interest may be taken as a sign of encouragement by some hopeful male. To smile unnecessarily at other people's infants is to be suspected of the evil eye, and most children do not learn to smile at strangers or visitors until they attend school.

Correct behavior is important at all times, at home, with friends, with relatives, and in public. Only in the case of old people and men who are drunk are deviations from customary reserve tolerated. Nevertheless, men recovering from drunkenness are apt to worry over having committed some improper act, such as behaving disrespectfully to a *compadre*. For this reason, men are careful about choosing drinking companions; individuals in a respect-relation, such as father and son, uncle and nephew, and *compadres*, must never drink together.

There are no fiestas in Tepoztlán which are openly bacchanalian in character, or in which women as well as men become drunk and promiscuous as in some other parts of Mexico. Even at the Carnaval, when Tepoztecans behave with relative freedom, the leading participants are disguised in masks and costumes, and whatever love-making takes place is done secretly.

[1] Only during the recreation hour in school do children make a great deal of noise and play wildly. The play pattern in school is in sharp contrast with that at home and is clearly out of keeping with the older culture pattern.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

tudes toward sex and sexuality. Most of the attitudes toward sex are negative and prudish and, at least superficially, in accord with Catholic tradition.

Women have a negative attitude toward bearing children. They try to keep the number of pregnancies to a minimum by long nursing and by abstaining from sexual intercourse. Pregnancy is commonly described as "being ill with child," and pregnant women are embarrassed by their condition and make every attempt to conceal it. There is an absence of sexual play between husbands and wives; many women refer to the sex act as "the abuse by the man," and the genitals are generally considered ugly or dirty. There is a widespread belief among adolescent girls that sexual intercourse is painful. Open courtship is not sanctioned, and girls are severely punished for having any relations with boys. The existence of the double standard and the greater personal freedom of boys and men tend to encourage male sexuality. Romantic love, as we conceive it, is practically unknown; romantic attachments are relatively superficial and easily made and broken. Courtship is an intriguing, exciting pastime but it is always cautious, seldom impulsive or passionate.

It cannot be said, however, that Tepoztecans are puritanical, nor are they burdened with feelings of guilt or concepts of sexuality as something sinful.[4] Rather, Tepoztecans place greater value upon sexual restraint than upon sexual activity; just as they do not encourage emotional expressiveness, so do they not encourage active sexuality. Adult sexual activity is discouraged, not so much for reasons of morality but for practical reasons of safety. Parents fear that a young son may make an undesirable attachment with a widow or a dangerous attachment with a married woman, or he may be bewitched by a jealous sweetheart; they fear even more strongly that their daughter will lose her good reputation and the chance of a respectable marriage. Women are generally reluctant to have sexual relations, because of unwanted pregnancies; men discourage sexuality in their wives for fear of being humiliated by the wife's unfaithfulness; wives fear the loss of income and the poor treatment which inevitably attend their husband's extramarital alliances.

While there is much gossip, there is no ostracism or public denouncement or persecution of those who are guilty of sexual indiscretion. The couple living in free union is unmolested, the promiscuous widow maintains her usual relations with neighbors and kin, the illegitimate child is given a similar if not entirely equal position in his mother's household and may receive aid and inheritance

[4] The relative absence of guilt feelings can also be seen in the reactions to stealing and drinking. Drinking is not considered bad in itself, but may be criticized because it takes a man away from his work and takes money which may be sorely needed for other purposes. Stealing is quite frequent and may be severely punished, but it is detection rather than the act itself which is disturbing. In case histories, informants frequently refer to little stealing episodes without any manifestation of remorse or guilt, but emphasize how ashamed they were when discovered. Men do not appear to have guilt in promiscuous sexual relations with women or in deceiving young girls. Rather, they are proud of these feats and consider any conquest to their credit. There is also practically no sense of moral responsibility toward children born out of wedlock.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

from his father. A man who fathers children with many women is placed under no social pressure to support his offspring or to marry the mother of any of them. Even in the case of a daughter's elopement, an act made worse by its rebellious flouting of parental authority, forgiveness is usually forthcoming after a lapse of time.

Sexuality is discouraged from childhood on; sex is a taboo subject within the home. Infant sexuality, masturbation, and sexual play among children, as well as curiosity concerning the bodily functions, is forbidden and punished. It is one of the more important obligations of the parent to keep their children "innocent," or, as they say, "to keep their eyes from being opened." The separation of the sexes for work and play begins from about age seven to ten and is strictly enforced at puberty. Coeducation in the school violated this basic attitude and was bitterly opposed by parents. Girls are unprepared for menstruation, which comes as a shock to most of them; girls will rarely confide in their mothers about menstruation or other intimate subjects.

In most inter-personal situations, Tepoztecans do not express affection in a demonstrative fashion and generally avoid bodily contact. Perhaps the major exception to this occurs in the mother-child relationship during the nursing period, when the child is held, fondled, and sometimes kissed. In courtship there is an increasing amount of demonstrativeness and physical contact, but kissing is still not customary.

Tepoztecans learned the Spanish custom of kissing the hand of the priest and of parents and godparents, but it never came easily to them and is now disappearing. The shaking of hands in greeting and departure and the typical Mexican double embrace are not generally practised in Tepoztlán and occur only among politicians and some of the more citified families. When Tepoztecans are drunk, this restraint is frequently relaxed, and male companions will walk arm in arm, and men may hug and even kiss their children and wives in the privacy of their homes.

It must be apparent from the preceding pages that Tepoztecans are not, on the whole, a very affectionate people and that means of expressing affection are limited. Normally, the Tepoztecan shows his affection for his children by hard work, good habits, and by providing them with the necessities of life; the child expresses his affection for his parents by obedience, respect, and diligence. Other inter-personal relations reveal good will or affection in so far as they fulfill the required reciprocal behavior. If these formal or practical qualities exist between people, Tepoztecans consider that they have a satisfactory relation with each other, and little else is demanded.

Between parents and children there is now a noticeable tendency, particularly among the younger generation, to express affection and to seek it in terms of greater demonstration of personal interest in each other, in their wants and needs and general welfare over and above life's bare necessities. This interest may be expressed by greater giving of food, clothing, toys, sweets, gifts, and now, by a willingness to make sacrifices for an education. Tepoztecans, particularly men,

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

be bewitched as a result of romantic entanglements, and some mothers express anxiety over this and warn their children to be careful. Chronic illness and most deaths accompanied by swelling of the head or other parts of the body are frequently attributed to sorcery.

This situation makes for an oppressive atmosphere, particularly for those individuals who are striving to improve themselves or who, for one reason or another, deviate from strict conformity. It is most true for the more educated or acculturated minority and for a few of the well-to-do. Many of these people give evidence of neuroticism and display the type of tension and discomfiture so often noted among marginal groups who live within two cultures, not wholly accepting or being wholly accepted by either. We have had occasion to observe some of these people who moved to Mexico City, subsequent to our acquaintance with them, and we were astonished to note the transformation which they invariably underwent. Their faces had become less impassive; they had gained weight; they looked happier and more relaxed; they laughed more and behaved with far less formality.

One girl who went to the United States with us described herself as feeling that a great weight had been lifted off her shoulders from the time she left Tepoztlán. She no longer had to worry about gossip, criticism, sorcery, secrecy, and felt more free to express herself as she wished. Of course, this sensation is common among all people who shift from a small rural town to a large city, but in Tepoztecans we noted more striking physiological, psychological, and personality changes.

The sanctions against the overt expression of aggression in inter-personal relations sometimes give rise to an interesting type of disease locally known as *muina*, an illness caused by anger, in which aggression is apparently turned inward against the self. The symptoms of *muina* are loss of appetite, inability to take food, vomiting, loss of weight, and very often death. *Muina* is a fairly common condition and occurs among members of both sexes, primarily among adults but sometimes even among children. It may be caused by insult, humiliation, bad luck, or any other frustration which arouses anger. People with *muina* are not supposed to eat certain foods lest they become seriously ill. The dangerous foods include pork, eggs, milk, bananas, avocados, *chirimoya*, and most "hot" foods.[6]

There are also situations in which the direct expression of aggression is sanctioned, and other occasions in which it is expressed despite community sanctions against it.

Aggression is sometimes expressed directly in the beating of children, wife, or younger sisters or brothers. Men also beat their animals in moments of anger, although generally they are careful not to injure them. Attitudes toward wife beating and child-beating have been changing in the direction of disapproval. In extreme cases of cruelty, the guilty party may be denounced to the authorities and punished. Most cases of wife-beating now occur only when the men are drunk.

[6] It is interesting to note that most of the foods to be avoided contain considerable fat or oil. This suggests the possibility that the emotional disturbance causes liver disorder which makes the patient extremely sensitive to fat and unable to digest it.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

593 837 done by the time the husband comes home, or if the children and animals look neglected, he may suspect her of having spent time with a lover. In one case, a husband noticed that the family cat ate ravenously at night as though she had not been fed all day, and he accused his wife of having been out with someone. If a wife is unusually careful about her appearance before going out, or if she is reluctant to have sexual intercourse, her husband's suspicions may be aroused.

The following conversation, or rather monologue, overheard on the Tepoztlán bus illustrates the degree of suspiciousness of the Tepoztecan husband. One woman was telling another of her difficulties with her husband whenever she returned from a trip to Cuernavaca: "If I return annoyed, he says, 'You are annoyed to have to come back to me.' If I come back contented, it is worse. Then he says, 'Now you are happy. Now you are satisfied because you saw the one you wanted to see.' It seems that I have to have a face of wood when I enter my house."

Husbands generally become less suspicious after several years of marriage, if the behavior of the wife warrants it. However, as the children get older and can assist the mother at home, and as the needs of the growing family increase, women frequently wish to devote more time to earning money. For this they need freedom [484] and must leave the house more often, and tension and suspicion in the husband are again awakened. Men are most secure when their wives are pregnant or have an infant to care for; then women keep to the house more and are unable to undertake outside activities [842]. Having many children, one following close upon the other, is a source of security for the men.

Promiscuous sexual activity is considered a male prerogative in Tepoztlán, and men feel under pressure to have "affairs." Although male adultery is considered undesirable, it is also viewed as natural behavior and is widespread on the part of married men. Men make no secret of the fact that they have children by other women and often recognize these children as their own. There is no strong feeling [848] or prejudice against illegitimate children; rather they are pitied, because "they don't have a father."

[589] Illicit relations are usually with widows or unmarried women, but also frequently [548] with other married women. Many men now go to Cuernavaca where they visit [164] houses of prostitution, and venereal disease is becoming more common in Tepoztlán.

The "good" wife does not interfere with her husband's extra-marital affairs, but [578] many wives express resentment, especially if money is involved. Some women will openly quarrel with their husbands because of jealousy and may refuse to give them money. This type of interference particularly enrages husbands and often results in a beating.

273 593 [733] Drunkenness is not as common in Tepoztlán as in surrounding villages or other parts of Mexico and is more disapproved of. Most men drink a small amount of alcohol regularly in the evening, "to heat themselves" against the cold air of the fields, but extensive drinking is limited to Sundays, fiestas, or formal occasions. Most wives resent drunkenness, because of the probability of violence and the expenditure

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

of money. But only the most aggressive wives try to break their husbands of the habit.

Drinking is an important emotional outlet for men. It is believed that drinking helps one to get over *mains*, and it is traditional for men to go out to drink after a quarrel at home. Sometimes the men come home drunk and aggressive; other times "because they lack judgment" they arrive full of affection and kiss and caress the members of the family. It is interesting that only under intoxication will husbands and fathers openly demonstrate their affection in this way. Repressed hostilities toward wife, mother, child, or others also frequently come out when a man has been drinking. Some husbands beat their wives only when drunk. Drinking to get courage to punish a wife, seduce a woman, or attack an enemy is also common. Men often give a particular shout or cry *"grita"* after drinking, to show that they feel brave.

Although women in Tepoztlán are not supposed to drink, a few women are known to drink regularly and have been seen in a drunken state. Drunken women often cry for hours at a time and are inconsolable. In contrast to men, they do not respond to intoxication with aggression or impulsiveness but with self-pity. Widows or abandoned wives, more than other women, tend to drink for comfort. A few modern young girls get together occasionally for drinking and smoking in secret, but they discontinue this after marriage.

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

The relations between parents and children in Tepoztlán are also conditioned by emphasis on respect and authority. Children are reared to respect and obey their elders and to submit to the will of their mother and father so long as they live under the parental roof. Not long ago, all children in Tepoztlán kissed the hands of their parents, grandparents, and godparents in greeting; now only a few families continue this custom, and children are embarrassed to do it in the presence of outsiders. In the smaller outlying villages in the municipio, hand-kissing is still a common practice.

From infancy on, children in Tepoztlán are encouraged to be quiet, passive, and unobtrusive; older children are required to be obedient, self-controlled, and helpful. There is great emphasis placed upon "good" behavior in children, and the possibility of a child "not turning out well" is one of the fears of Tepoztecan parents. It is feared that a child who is badly raised will not be a good worker and will get into trouble. Such a child reflects ill upon his parents and is a cause for shame.

The responsibility of child rearing is felt as a heavy burden, particularly by mothers. Upon the death of a small child, it is not uncommon for the mother to comfort herself with the statement, "It is better thus, for who knows if he would have turned out well."

While both parents are held responsible by society at large for the care and conduct of their children, within the home the major burden falls upon the mother. It is the mother who feeds, bathes, and clothes the children and cares for them

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

593 602 [124] Attachment to people on the part of children often depends upon or results from the receiving of some material good. They will seek out or be loyal to whichever parent or relative gives them what they want when they want it. It is common for children to say, "I like him because he gives me good things." The psychological tests and themes written by children in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades contain evidence of this. One boy wrote that he was very sad when his uncle died, because his uncle used to give him pennies. Another girl said, "I like my aunt best because she takes me to fiestas." Similarly, a mother, in discussing her children's attitudes toward their grandmother said, "Naturally, Delfina liked her grandmother more than the other children do, because her grandmother gave her more."

593 868 [521] The father assumes an important role in the life of his son when the boy is old enough to go to the fields. Most boys enjoy working in the fields with their father and look forward with great anticipation to being permitted to join him. Fathers, too, are proud to take their young sons to the fields for the first time, and frequently show great patience in teaching them. But even when father and sons go to the fields together day after day, there is no lessening of the respect relations. The father maintains the role of teacher, and when he speaks it is to teach or advise his son. Boys generally do not speak much in the presence of their fathers. Talk about intimate subjects, telling jokes, or discussing women is strictly taboo, generally even after the sons are married.

593 866 594 Regardless of age or marital state, a son is under his father's authority as long as he lives and works with his father. The son receives no recompense other than his support and care and what spending money he can get from his mother or father. Some fathers are generous and permissive in their treatment of grown sons who do a man's work; others are not and continue to treat them as children. Comparatively few unmarried sons leave home to seek work elsewhere. Even boys who are very dissatisfied with their situation at home are reluctant to strike out for themselves. Among youths there is a certain apprehensiveness of the outside, a fear of falling ill among strangers, of having to do menial and laborious work, of not having the backing of a family in case of trouble, and of not being properly respected by others. The economic dependency of sons upon their parents, as well as a desire for a share of the inheritance, prevents most sons from leaving home. The dependence is mutual; fathers are eager to have their sons remain at home to help support the family, and temper their behavior accordingly. In most homes, grown sons who work enjoy the same service and care received by their father.

593 [273] Although there is some feeling that a father should be a good example for his sons, there is no emphasis upon this. The father feels entitled to his son's respect regardless of his behavior. In this sense, the role of the Tepoztecan father is quite different from that of the father in the German family, for example. The German father generally seeks respect based upon awe and admiration; the Tepoztecan father is content with respect based upon fear and prerogative. Thus, in Tepoztlán, although most fathers forbid their sons to drink, this does not prevent the father from drinking in the presence of his sons. When a father gets drunk, it is the

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

obligation of the sons to find him and help him home. Fathers may experience some shame, primarily because of the fear that they may not have behaved well while drunk.

The relations of a father with his daughters are not very different from his relations with his sons. Although fathers prefer to have sons to daughters, favoritism toward a daughter is not uncommon. As the son grows older and is able to work in the fields, his contacts with his father become more frequent, but those with the older daughter become more distant and formal. Physical contact between father and daughter is even more avoided, and kissing or embracing has strong incestuous connotations. Young girls are often extremely shy in the presence of their fathers, and married women have stated that they were embarrassed to be seen by their fathers when pregnant.

Fathers expect their daughters to avoid all contact with the opposite sex and to be virgins until marriage. Any trespass against this is taken to be a blow against his honor and that of the family, and incurs his most severe punishment. A father sometimes forces a wayward daughter to leave home or does not speak to her for several years. Girls are very fearful of their father's attitude in this, but nevertheless almost always have a secret sweetheart. Although Tepoztecans explain the father's wrath as jealousy, what is meant is jealousy of his respect status rather than jealousy of his daughter's lover. The lover is considered so lacking in respect for the father that he dares to flaunt the father's will. A rich man is doubly outraged and will often go to great expense and trouble to punish the boy.

Grown daughters may take over their mother's duties in serving the father, and sometimes strong ties of affection between father and daughter develop as a result. There are many cases of fathers favoring their eldest daughter and secretly providing her with gifts because of her devotion in serving him. This is particularly true of a widower whose eldest daughter fills the place of the deceased mother. Incest between father and daughter is not infrequently suspected in such a situation.

In one case, a widower lived alone with his nineteen-year-old daughter, who did all the work of a wife. The daughter had the reputation of being *loca* and having had many *novios* when younger. After the death of her mother, she no longer had *novios* and kept to the house. Her father dressed her well and gave her all the money she wanted, and people began to suspect them of having incestuous relations. A neighbor claimed to have seen them in the act of sexual intercourse and reported that the girl was pregnant. One day she saw the girl bury something in the corral and notified the authorities, who found that it was the fetus of a child. The girl was sentenced to prison for one year, but her father, who was prosperous, sold some animals and bought her freedom. His solicitude in bringing her food and in arranging for her release contrasted sharply with the traditional fury of the father at a wayward daughter, and was taken to be further evidence of their illicit relations.

Although it is believed that it is the duty of the children to take care of the father when he can no longer work, there is a widespread feeling that children cannot be relied on, and that death is preferable to a dependent old age.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

bolster up their courage is common among boys setting out to court a girl. A boy may admire a girl from a distance for several weeks or months without declaring himself, or he will try to get her attention by staring hard at her (*echar el ojo castigado*).[3] (See Fig. 59.) If she notices it and smiles, he is encouraged to proceed

Fig. 59. A Tepoztecan boy trying to get a girl's attention by staring at her.

with the courting. Some few do not approach a girl themselves but do so through a go-between. Boys whose attentions are refused have been known to get drunk for days because of the humiliation. Occasionally a boy who is spurned will revenge himself by attacking the girl with the help of friends. A boy who has received encouragement from a girl in the form of smiles and direct glances and is subsequently rejected by her is especially outraged and feels justified in forcing himself upon her. Girls do not experience the tension and fear of rejection involved in initiating courtship, but they do fear revenge and must be very guarded in their manner with boys. The occasional girl who smiles directly at a boy, or gives him meaningful glances, has almost always set her heart upon him and is quite ready to accept him as a *novio*. Encouragement as open as this is usually successful, for it is a rare boy or man in Tepoztlán who would resist an easy conquest.

The first step in courting is to send the girl a letter declaring love. Occasionally, before writing, a youth may approach a girl in the street and detain her (*atajarla*)

[3] Other expressions used to describe a boy's flirting are *echar vidrio* and *están dandole un gallo la noria*.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Some Tepoztecans now have borrowed the customs of the city by having separate godparents for the giving of the hands (*padrino de mano*) and another pair of godparents for the nuptial Mass (*velación*), but most couples still follow the older custom of having only one set of godparents. In a few cases of highly acculturated families, the bride has a car waiting at the entrance of the church and the couple ride off for their honeymoon. Some informants expressed the opinion that the time is not far off when this custom will be widespread in Tepoztlán.

After the ceremony it is customary for the couple and the friends and relatives to return to the home of the *padrinos* where refreshments are served, and where the couple again receive marital advice from the godparents. At about noon the couple go to the groom's house. In the old days, it was usual for the couple to carry burning incense over the threshold, and I have seen this tradition carried out on two occasions. A dinner is given with *mole poblano* as the main dish. Many drinks are served, with beer taking the place of *ponche* in the more acculturated homes. After the festivities are over, the guests go home and the couple remain. Most couples do not sleep alone the first or subsequent nights because of crowded living conditions.

Church weddings are becoming increasingly costly, ranging from 300 to 1,000 pesos. Young people of both sexes look forward to having a fine church wedding. If the boy's parents approve of the girl, they will make a fine wedding, even if it means selling their animals or pawning their house. As one informant put it, "I exchanged my cows for a daughter-in-law." If parents are not willing or able to provide a suitable wedding, their son sometimes works and saves to do so himself. Saving for a wedding is much more common than saving to buy a team of oxen, a house, or something which will improve the boy's economic situation. The majority of Tepoztecan couples begin married life with little except their clothing and the satisfaction of having had a nice wedding.

BY FREE UNION

When a man and woman live together as husband and wife without either civil or church marriage, it is referred to as a free union (*unión libre*). The more acculturated Tepoztecans no longer regard this as a form of marriage. But there are many couples who have been living in free union for many years, and they are regarded as husband and wife by all concerned. The children of such marriages, if the parents record their birth in the local registry, have equal rights with other children in cases of legal disputes concerning property. During the days of the Revolution, when priests were unavailable and life was precarious, many people joined in free unions. But the existence of *uniones libres* cannot be explained simply as a phenomenon of the Revolution. Of the fifteen per cent of the couples living in free union in the village in 1940, about half of them were fairly young people, indicating that this type of marriage is not entirely going out.

An analysis of the free unions in the village reveals that the great number were second marriages for one or both of the spouses. In most cases the previous spouse

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

764 A wake is held day and night, and friends, relatives, and *compadres* come to keep vigil. The family serves coffee, alcohol, bread, and cigarettes, the cost of which is a burden to the poor. Some of the visitors leave a few coins to help pay the expenses, but the majority do not. The more kindly disposed, close relatives may voluntarily offer financial or other assistance, and most godparents fulfill their [608] obligation to provide a coffin, burial clothing, and perhaps music at the death of a godchild.

● [273] During the wake men and women pray together, but after each prayer the men separate to drink and play cards in order to keep awake. On the following day a few of the men go to the cemetery to dig the grave. The deceased is placed in a coffin and carried to the cemetery, with mourners preceding and following the cof- [766] fin. Some funerals, particularly those of important persons or members of the Acción Católica, enter the church before proceeding to the burial place. After burial, a cross with the name and date of death is placed on the grave. On the *novena*, or ninth day, the ceremony of the raising of the cross takes place at a night wake similar to the one held on the day of death. This time, however, an offering of tamales, *mole verde*, oranges, chocolate, cooked chicken, and bread is placed on the house altar for the deceased. The offering is left there for twelve hours, each [775] hour corresponding to one month of the year, so that the deceased will have food for the entire year.

For the ceremony of the raising of the cross, two boys and girls, who are non-relatives, are selected by the kin of the deceased to act as *padrinos*. The children carry flowers and, accompanied by the *rezandero*, walk toward the *petate* on which is the cross of lime and sand. The *padrinos* stand on either side of the cross, while the *rezandero* recites special prayers. Meanwhile, the children take small brooms, which must be new, and sweep the sand and lime together, gather it on a tray, and later take it to the grave. The clothing which had been left on the *petate* is now also raised. As each article is picked up, the *padrinos* recite the following prayer: "Rise up, soul of Christ, awake if you are asleep. God is looking for you to accompany you to heaven." After the cross and the clothing have been raised, the prayer hymns (*alabadas*) are sung in honor of the dead.

[794] It is also customary to ring the barrio chapel bells the day after the death. If a special fee is paid, the bells of the central church will be rung, and the priest will perform a benediction for the deceased.

One year after the death, another wake may be held and a special Mass arranged. In some families, members visit the grave with flowers.

766 A child's funeral is somewhat different. Tepoztecans adhere to the Catholic be- [775] lief that the soul of a child goes directly to heaven, and the funeral is therefore supposed to be an occasion of rejoicing. Gay music is played at the wake and at the funeral procession. The *novena* and prayers for the soul of the deceased are unnecessary in the case of children and are not held, and the burial clothing and decorations must be befitting to an *angelito*. If the dead child is a boy he is dressed like San José, if a girl, like the Virgen de Guadalupe. Both wear socks and cardboard

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

796 *Fiesta of Sixth Friday of Lent or Viernes de Dolores*, celebrated in the parish church: Fasting is required. This is the beginning of Holy Week.

785 *Fiesta of Sábado de Dolores*, celebrated in the parish church: This is celebrated with holy offices and a Vía Crucis procession.

778 821 755 *Fiesta of Palm Sunday*, celebrated in the parish church: This is a very important holiday. Tepoztecans take palm leaves to be blessed by the priest. It is believed that blessed palm protects against lightning. Ashes of blessed palm placed upon the head are thought to cure bad headaches. Blessed palm is also placed at the door of the house to prevent fires and being struck by lightning.

783 *Fiesta of Holy Monday and Holy Tuesday*, celebrated in the parish church: These are days of great devotion. The religious associations are very active, visiting the church and barrio chapels. Many Tepoztecans choose these days for their annual confession.

785 262 461 777 *Fiesta of Holy Wednesday:* Rigorous fasting begins. Meat is not eaten until the Saturday of Glory. Substitute foods are beans, *huauzontle*, *tortas*, stuffed peppers, fish, *revoltijo*, and lentils. All work must stop through the Sunday of Resurrection. Women prepare tortillas for the rest of the week. In the evening is the vigil of the Lord, the men taking turns all through the night. Women customarily go to church in the late afternoon to pray the thirty-three Credos, one for each year of Jesus' life. It is believed that those who do this will triple their earnings during the year.

788 *Holy Thursday:* The church is full on this day. The priest dramatically describes the passion of Christ, and crying on the part of women is common. Not to do so is "to have a cold heart." In the afternoon is the ceremonial foot-washing of the apostles.

861 *Holy Friday:* This is the culminating day of Holy Week. Throughout the village there is profound quietude. No one must run or shout or use bad words, so as not to offend the Lord. The men silently drink their *ponche* together while the women, dressed in black, go to church. On this day, children are not to be struck, for "it would be striking the Lord."

788 824 826 856 535 273 *Holy Saturday:* At 7:00 A.M. the faithful of the village and the municipio go to the church where the priest pronounces the "Gloria in Excelsis Deo." With this all the bells, which have been silent since Wednesday, are rung, and joy spreads through the village. While the bells ring, old men trim their plants so that they will produce more, mothers snip the ends of their daughter's hair to make it grow longer, and children are struck on the legs to make them grow taller. Two or three *comparsas* are organized to dance on this day.

Easter Sunday: Everyone dresses well and goes to Mass. Sometimes the *chinelos* leap in the afternoon. People stand in little groups in the plaza, and men drink a great deal.

April 29. *Fiesta of San Pedro*, celebrated in San Pedro: The only unusual feature of this fiesta is the group of children who dance for San Pedro.

May 1-31. All this month is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and *rosarios* are held every afternoon. Girls from seven to fifteen years of age dress in white and bring flowers to the Virgin.

782 541 648 May 3. *Fiesta of Santa Cruz*, celebrated in Santa Cruz: This fiesta is celebrated not only in this barrio but in all homes and places having crosses. All crosses are adorned with flowers, especially Bougainvillaea. Incense is burned, and fireworks are set off. This fiesta is also celebrated in Ixcatepec, but is postponed until the following Sunday in deference to the barrio of Santa Cruz. It is one of the best attended fiestas. There are cockfights and visiting dancers from Yautepec and Milpa Alta.